DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 142 451 SO 010 005

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TITLE The Effects of the Women's Movement on Increases in Advanced Degrees for Women: A Case Study of a Business School.
SPONS AGENCY Stanford Univ., Calif. School of Education.
PUB DATE Aug 76
NOTE 25p.; Paper presented at Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association (New York, New York, August 30-September 3, 1976)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$1.67 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Academic Achievement; Academic Aspiration; *Business Education; Case Studies; Doctoral Degrees; *Educational Change; Educational Needs; Educational Status Comparison; Educational Trends; *Females; *Graduate Study; Higher Education; Masters Degrees; Political Influences; Professional Education; Sex Discrimination; *Sex Stereotypes; Social Change; Sociology; Womens Studies

ABSTRACT

The first part of the paper discusses how changes in ideology and power at the local and national level may have contributed to the increase in advanced degrees for women. The remainder of the paper discusses how these ideological and political factors have affected the participation of women at the Westcliffe Business School. Changes at the Westcliffe School of Business from 1968, when the proportion of women among first-year students was 2%, to 1974, when the proportion of women students was 19%, are described and explained by members of the school and by sociologists. The period since the student unrest of the 1960s is noted to have produced changes in ideology and power on national and local levels. Among pressures described for educational changes are feminist challenges to traditional sex roles, and the use of federal power to combat sexism in graduate education. Considered are aspects of change at the Westcliffe School of Business, including an increase in female applications and admissions, a more open attitude toward women students, changes in administration, more liberal admission policies for women, recruitment activities by women students, and general ideological changes in attitudes toward advanced degrees for women. The author agrees that, although these local and school-centered changes are significant, national ideological influences and political events have played a larger role in increasing the number of advanced degrees awarded to women. (Author/DB)

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Paper read at meetings of
American Sociological Association
August, 1976

SO 010 005

The Effects of the Women's Movement on Increases in Advanced Degrees for Women: A case study of a Business School*

There has been a dramatic increase in the proportion of doctorates and professional degrees received by women over the past decade. From 1968 to 1974, the percentage of all Ph.D.'s in the United States that were awarded to women rose from 13% to 19%. The percent of women among all first year law students increased from 7% to 23%, and the percent of women among all first year medical students rose from 10% to 20% (Parrish, 1974 and 1975; Vetter and Babco, 1975). In the particular business school that I will discuss in this paper, the proportion of women among first-year students rose from 2% in 1968 to 19% in 1974.

What social changes have caused these increases in advanced degrees for women? There are many possible causal factors, including the rise of the women's movement, the enforcement of federal legislation against sex discrimination and changes in university policies on recruitment and admissions. I have found it useful to order these factors along two dimensions: first, national level vs. local, university level causes; and second, causal factors concerning ideology or consciousness vs. factors concerning the exercise of political and economic power.

In the first part of this paper, I will present my ideas on how changes in ideology and power, on both the national and local level, may have contributed to the increase in advanced degrees for women. Then I will turn to the specific case of the Westcliffe School of Business. The changes at the school over the past decade will be described, and the explanations of change given by members of the school and by sociologists will be contrasted.

*This research was supported by a grant from the Spencer Fund of the School of Education, Stanford University.

Possible Causes of the Change in Women's Education

The distinction between ideology and political and economic power as causes of historical change goes back to the debate between Marx and Weber on the causes of the rise of capitalism. Weber argued that both factors are important, and several recent changes in the United States seem to fit his analysis. Thus the expansion of rights for Black people and the control of environmental pollution, seem to have resulted from a combination of a new ideology promulgated by a social movement, and new policies enforced by the political and economic power of the federal government (Lipset, 1975; Freeman, 1975).

A similar combination of ideological and political factors seems to have contributed to the recent expansion of rights for women. As we all know, in the late 1960's, new sex role ideologies were formulated by several groups of women in the United States, ranging from N.O.W. to radical feminist groups (Hole and Levine, 1971; Carden, 1974; Freeman, 1975). The new ideologies were similar in many respects. They all challenged traditional assumptions about sex roles and they proclaimed that a womanly woman could be assertive, independent and successful in a high status career.

Beginning in 1970, the mass media gave enormous coverage to the ideology and activities of these groups (which came to be known as "the women's movement"). I have analyzed the coverage of women's issues in the New York Times and found that articles concerning women were very scarce in the 1950's and most of the 1960's; then they suddenly increased by more than 300% between 1969 and 1970, and continued to increase through 1975. It seems likely that the new sex role ideology spread rapidly through this

"media blitz" as well as through personal contacts (Freeman, 1975).

In sum, the development and diffusion of a new sex role ideology occurred about the same time that female enrollments in advanced degree programs began to increase, around 1970. It is possible that the new ideology partially caused this increase by changing the perceptions and expectations about women that were held by women who were potential students, by university administrators and faculty, and by employers.

The use of federal power to combat sexism in graduate education did not begin until somewhat later. Prior to 1971, "no laws whatsoever prohibited sex discrimination against students at any level of education" (Sandler, 1974). In October 1971, Congress prohibited sex discrimination in admissions to health training programs; and in 1972, the Education Amendments prohibited all discriminatory practices concerning students in all federally assisted educational programs, but guidelines for this law were not published until 1974.

However, it is likely that as early as 1970, the threat of government action on sex discrimination in graduate education was very real to university administrators. In the fall of 1970, HEW blocked approval of new federal contracts for the University of Michigan on the grounds that the university's hiring policies discriminated against women. About the same time, several bills concerning sex discrimination against students were being discussed in Congress, and women's groups were suing universities for discriminating against women faculty. For many administrators, the handwriting was on the wall.

In sum, the women's movement and the mass media may be major ideological causes of the increase in advanced education for women while the actions of

the federal government may be a major political cause.*

The ideology-power dimension is cross-cut by the national-local dimension. The above discussion has focused on the redefinition of sex roles and the exercise of political power on a national level. However, it is possible that the increase in advanced degrees for women at a particular university is more closely related to the local women's movement and to the policies that are implemented by the administration of that university.

In the remainder of this paper, I will discuss how ideological and political factors at a national and local level have affected the participation of women at the Westcliffe Business School. This case study is part of a larger research project. The project will include an analysis of national trends in advanced degrees for women since 1900, in order to examine the impact of national changes in ideology, political policy, employment, fertility and other factors. In addition, I will examine changes at 40 universities over the past decade in order to clarify the relative importance of national vs. local events, and to examine which types of universities respond most rapidly to national events.

*I am simplifying this brief overview of causal factors by ignoring the political-power aspects of the women's movement and the ideological aspects of government actions.

WOMEN STUDENTS AT THE WESTCLIFFE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS: 1963-1976

Westcliffe University is an elite, private institution that offers a high-status education to women and men undergraduates and to students seeking Ph.D.'s or professional degrees in Law, Medicine, Business and other fields. The Graduate School of Business at Westcliffe is one of the strongest professional schools at the University. In the early 1960's the school began a successful campaign to improve itself and raise its reputation. By 1970, the school had one of the country's top rated programs in Master's of Business Administration--the most important degree in the business field.

Between 1970 and 1973, the Westsliffe Business School experienced a dramatic rise in the participation of women in the two year Masters in Business Administration program (or M.B.A. program). I will first present some quantitative data that documents the changes since 1963. Then I will describe the history of the school during this period, and finally, I will contrast my own explanation of the major causes of change with the accounts given by members of the Business School.

A Quantitative Picture of Change

The proportion of M.B.A.'s awarded to women at Westcliffe grew from 1% in 1972 to 20% in 1975. The figures on applications, admissions and enrollments, by sex, clarify the different components of this change. They are shown on Table 1. The first three columns of figures show the number of women and men that applied to the M.B.A. program each year, and gives the percent of all applicants that were women. As you can see, before 1970, the percent of applications from women was consistently very small; it began to increase in 1971 and has continued to rise every year since then.

Table 1

Applications, Admissions, Enrollments and Degrees Awarded, By Sex, Since 1963

YEAR	APPLICATIONS			ADMISSIONS			ENROLLMENTS			M.B.A.'s AWARDED		
	Women	Men	% Women	Women	Men	% Women	Women	Men	% Women	Women	Men	% Women
1963-64	6	957	1	3	461	1	1	226	0	2	199	1
1964-65	2	1095	0	1	466	0	0	226	0	1	199	1
1965-66	10	1405	1	4	512	1	2	224	1	1	206	1
1966-67	22	1582	1	9	571	2	5	273	2	2	217	1
1967-68	16	1684	1	5	560	1	4	274	1	3	257	1
1968-69	30	1907	2	13	640	2	6	288	2	3	234	1
1969-70	36	2285	2	10	640	2	3	315	1	7	232	3
1970-71	45	2589	2	9	489	2	5	271	2	6	317	2
1971-72	95	2350	4	33	469	7	21	273	7	3	301	1
1972-73	137	1738	7	53	506	10	34	273	11	22	265	8
1973-74	237	1794	12	88	522	14	53	253	17	32	232	12
1974-75	418	2158	16	95	483	16	60	250	19	54	220	20
1975-76	623	2710	19	90	468	16	59	252	19	60	243	20

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This growth in the percent of applications from women resulted from two factors: a steady increase in the numbef of female applications and a decrease in the number of male applications between 1971 and 1974.

The figures on admissions in Table 1 show that the rise in the percent of female admittees began with the class of 1971, which is consistent with the trends of applications. However, admissions also seem to have an independent effect on the growing proportion of women in the M.B.A. program. Between 1971 and 1973, women were 'over-admitted,' that is, the percent of women admittees was higher than the percent of women applicants. This suggests that the administration changed admissions policies to favor women, or that the relative quality of female applicants suddenly improved. In 1975, for the first time, women were 'under-admitted,' which raises the possibility that a new anti-woman admissions policy has been adopted.

The trends in enrollments are very similar to the trends in adimssions, through 1972. However, for the last three years, compared to men, more of the women who are admitted enroll at Westcliffe. Finally, the figures on M.B.A.'s awarded two years after a class entered show that very few men or women drop out and almost all of them receive a degree two years after they enter.

In sum, the quantitative data gives us the following picture of change at the Westcliffe Business School: beginning in 1973, there has been a dramatic rise in the number and proportion of M.B.A.'s awarded to women; this rise has resulted from (1) an increase in female applications, (2) a decrease in male applications, (3) an increase in the proportion of women applicants that were admitted, and (4) an increase in the proportion of women

who were admitted that enrolled. The historical, ethnographic data that will now be presented will clarify the social processes underlying these quantitative changes.

A Historical Picture of Change

The following chronological account of women at the Westcliffe Business School is based on interviews with 20 administrators, faculty and students, and also on newspaper stories, official publications of the school and the university, and a student report written in 1971. Most of the data was collected by my research assistant, Audri Gordon, who is a sociologist, like myself. After the chronology of events is presented, I will summarize my own view of the causes of change at the Business School, and then contrast the accounts of change given by members of the school.

In 1964, a woman came to the school to discuss applying. She was informed by the admissions officer that the only women "for whom the M.B.A. program is valuable are those who will be inheriting the family business." She did not apply until 1970, when she was accepted. All our informants agree that before 1970, women in the M.B.A. program were scarce, were viewed as peculiar and were not particularly welcomed.

The sexist atmosphere of the school was reflected in some remarks quoted in a student report written in 1971:

> "These first few weeks I would start out Monday morning ready to cope and by Friday afternoon I was in tears, just miserably depressed...I think it was that question we got hundreds of times. "Why are you here? I deserve to be here but you're unusual, what's your excuse?"
>
> --female student

> You got an A on your exam? What did you do, invite the professor to your home last night?
>
> --male student

> All apologies to the ladies, but women entering the labor force exacerbates the unemployment problems and jeopardizes our economic stability.
>
> --male professor

There were many formal instances in which the presence of women students was not recognized at all. Business School loan applications asked students whether their wives would be employed. The several hundred case studies that first year students analyzed rarely referred to women, and virtually never described women in high status, non-traditional positions.

This de facto exclusion of women from the Business School persisted until 1970. Then in the academic year 1970-71, the school's atmosphere and policies concerning women began to change rapidly, and by 1972 the school had achieved a national reputation for welcoming women. The critical period of transition is between Fall, 1970 and Spring, 1972.

Within this period, an interrelated set of changes occurred at the national level, at Westcliffe University and at the Business School. At the national level, as discussed earlier, 1970 was the year that the women's movement mushroomed and was given enormous media coverage. Perhaps more significantly, in Fall of 1970 HEW, for the first time, blocked federal funds from a major university because of sex discrimination. In addition, in 1970 federal agencies began to take strong action against major corporations on the grounds that they discriminated against female employees.*

*On July 20, 1970, the Department of Justice filed its first suit of sex discrimination under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, against Libby Owens, United Glass and Ceramic Workers of North America. In December, 1970, the EEOC sought to block an American Telephone and Telegraph Co. rate increase on the grounds of pervasive discrimination against women and minorities within the company (Hole and Levine, 1971: 419-423).

In order to satisfy federal demands, corporations became more interested in hiring women M.B.A.'s.

At Westcliffe University new ideas and policies about women began to emerge in 1970. One important catalyst of change was a young feminist, Diana, who held a minor administrative position at the University.* She promoted discussion groups and worked with a coalition of feminists and faculty wives that persuaded the faculty to establish a Committee on Women, in Spring, 1970, parallel to the Committee on Minorities. Two other major promoters of change were the President and Provost of the University, both of whom had recently assumed office and both of whom had wives who supported greater equality for women.**

In the Fall of 1970, the efforts of the President and Provost to improve the position of women at the university became more urgent. In January, 1971, the President appointed Diana to be Consultant to the President on the Employment of Women, and he commissioned her ro develop recommendations about women faculty and staff. Throughout the Spring, she had frequent meetings with the Provost, and with administrators and faculty, to discuss the current situation for women at Westcliffe and consider alternative policies. Several new policies were adopted before her report was published in Fall, 1971, among them the establishment of a special fund that provided departments and schools with a financial incentive for hiring women faculty.

*Late in 1969, Diana joined a consciousness raising group formed by an ex-member of Sudsofloppen--one of the original consciousness raising groups of the movement (Hole and Levine, 1971: 120-121).

**In addition, the wife of the Dean of the Business School was a strong supporter of the women's movement. One of these women was quite resentful about sexism at Westcliffe University because she had been denied admission to a Ph.D. program at Westcliffe on apparently sexist grounds.

The Business School was drawn into this wave of change at the university. During the Winter and Spring of 1971, several Business School administrators met with the Committee on Women and with Diana to discuss the role of women in management and in the Business School. During the Dean's Retreat in the Summer of 1971, which was attended by the Dean of the Business School, the Provost emphasized the merits of Diana's forthcoming report and the general importance of improving the position of women at Westcliffe.

Within the Business School, the Dean of the Business School strongly supported bringing more women and minorities into the M.B.A. program. The Dean took office in Fall, 1970. In his previous position as president of a major U.S. corporation, he had worked against racial discrimination in employment, and had kept a close watch on new federal laws and court decisions on sex and race discrimination. He was convinced that as a result of federal pressure, there would soon be a substantial demand for women M.B.A.'s.*

From his first year as Dean at Westcliffe, he was firmly and publicly committed to a major increase in women's participation in the M.B.A. program and in the business world in general. His position was adopted by the rest of the Business School administration, and since the administration, and not the faculty, controls recruitment and admissions into the M.B.A. program, the consensus was quickly translated into new policies, as will be described below.

*This description of the Dean's expectation of rising demand for female M.B.A.'s is based solely on an interview with him in 1976. No one else suggested that federal action led to rising demand for women in management which led to more women in the Business School.

Outside the school, the Dean's role was also important. As a former corporation president, he often gave major public speeches and had extensive contacts among business executives. He used these resources to change the school's image and to recruit highly qualified women to Westcliffe.*

Now let me turn to changes within the Business School concerning the recruitment and admission of women, in the critical period of 1970 to 1972. The facts concerning changes in admissions policies are unclear. As discussed earlier, the quantitative data suggests that admissions policies were changed in favor of women in selecting the class that entered in September, 1971. However, none of the people that were interviewed spontaneously mentioned admissions policies as a cause of the increase in women students. And when I suggested to several administrators that admissions requirements for women had been relaxed in 1970, all but one of them firmly denied the possibility. The one deviant administrator said that an informal decision was made by the top administration of the Business School in 1970-71 to increase the number of women M.B.A. students by a number of methods, including "jiggling" with the admissions process so that more women would be admitted. The decision was never formally announced, but, he commented "almost nothing is done by formal policies here. Instead, "consensus developed in places that counted" that the number of women students should increase, and the consensus diffused through informal discussions and meetings of administrators.

*The above interpretations of the role of the President, Provost, the Consultant to the President and the Dean of the Business School was supported by many administrators and faculty that we interviewed, and was contested by no one.

Everyone else who was interviewed on this topic disagreed with his statements. They said that the same tough, objective standards were used for admitting both men and women throughout the 1960 s and 70's.

The facts concerning changes in recruitment policies are much clearer. Before 1971, the Business School spent no money or time on recruiting women. Then in Spring of 1971, when the administration was considering methods of recruiting women, three women M.B.A. students asked the administration to support their production of a multi-media presentation on women at Westcliffe Business School. Most administrators and students at the Business School say that the activities of these three students was a major cause of the increase in female M.B.A.'s at Westcliffe.

In September, 1970, five women enrolled in the Business School and three of them happened to be placed in the same classes. These women initiated many feminist projects, including writing a report on women at the Business School and contacting women admitted for September, 1971, urging them to enroll. The three women completed the presentation in the summer of 1971, with administration support. The presentation syncronized a battery of slide projectors with a rock music sound track, using music and pictures as a back drop to talk about women's managerial aspirations and about what it is like to be a female in a male-dominated environment. Recommendations concerning the school's admissions and placement policies were included.

During the academic year 1971-72, the multi-media presentation was the major vehicle for recruiting women to the M.B.A. program and for creating a national, 'pro-woman' image for the Westcliffe Business School. Under the sponsorship of the school's administration the three women showed their

presentation at a recruiting trip to several women's schools in the Northeast, and at meetings of business executives and Affirmative Action officers. These activities were given considerable coverage by the national media.

In our interviews this Spring about the causes of change at the Business School, the presentation and the other activities of the three women were the only causal factors that were spontaneously mentioned by all students, administrators and faculty. Many respondents also referred to national changes in sex role ideology, to the 'pro-woman' image of the Business School, and to the actions of the federal government.

According to one of the three women who created the multi-media presentation "a unique set of circumstances caused the changes. Our show was responsible in part as well as the fact that times were changing." The director of admissions "believed in us and made the whole thing work. The administration realized that they would be forced to change anyway, and our show was clearly a better alternative than being hit with a civil suit." She pointed out that the presentation helped build Westcliffe's image as a leader in the field of bringing women into management, even though this wasn't true at the time.

The director of Admissions also commented on the importance of the school's image. "Word got out that (Westcliffe) has discovered women. You don't have to be a 'man-eating bitch' to be accepted, and once you got here, you weren't treated as a "weirdo" or as a "pioneer." The main fact however, is that society has changed--"the Business School can't take any credit for that."

An Associate Dean stated that the changes were a result of changes in consciousness" and the multi-media presentation. "The three women approached us at the right time. They got people thinking in a very positive way. It was fun."

Although the presentation is emphasized in members' accounts of change, after about a year it was no longer used by the Business School. It was replaced by a routinized program to recruit women that was developed in 1972 and still continues. The recruitment program includes several components. First, female students or faculty make one or two recruiting trips to women's schools in the Northeast. Second, working women are recruited through the school's informal networks in the business world and through alumni and women's organizations. Third, the admissions committee and alumni encourage women who inquire about the school to apply, and encourage those women who are offered admission to enroll.

This completes the description of the critical period from 1970 through Spring of 1972. The changes after this time followed the patterns set in the critical period. The number of women students continued to grow until 1975, and the presence of a substantial minority of women in the M.B.A. program came to be taken for granted. The school appointed two women to the previously all-male faculty, and continued to project a pro-woman image by giving speeches and organizing conferences on women in business, and by appointing a few women to visible administrative positions. Within the M.B.A. program, the women students did well academically, and were offered excellent jobs, as U.S. corporations scrambled to hire women in order to meet their Affirmative Action goals.

The social climate of the school in Spring, 1976, is reflected in several statements made during our interviews. One administrator commented that "the school runs on machismo." But an assistant dean said "it would be almost unnatural if women weren't here (at the Business School) whereas five years ago their presence was almost unnatural."

Is the atmosphere of the Business School sexist? 'Sure, it's the same as the outside world," said one first year M.B.A. student. "I disagree," said a second year women. "It's a lot more accepting here. Maybe it is just because the class is 20% women, but like it or not they have to change. There are less women in the business world as a whole." A third student commented: "On the whole (the Dean) is supportive," intellectually he believes "women do belong here," and that things should change.

In sum, whether or not women belong in the M.B.A. program is still an interesting question for discussion at Westcliffe.

A Sociological Account of Change

On the basis of this historical description, what seem to have been the major causes for the increase in female M.B.A.'s? My interpretation is that the change in sex role ideology associated with the national women's movement was an extremely important causal factor, in part because its effect was so diffuse. On a national level, widespread acceptance of the new ideology contributed to the passage and enforcement of federal legislation on sex discrimination and it made corporations more receptive to employing female M.B.A.'s. The new ideology also partially accounts for the rising aspirations of potential women students and the subsequent rise in women's applications to the Business School. At the University level, the

redefinition of women's role prompted the administrators at Westcliffe to begin changing policies concerning women before they felt pressured by the government; after federal pressure became stronger, the ideology led many members of the university to willingly comply with the new laws. Finally, at the Business School, the widespread acceptance of the new ideology led administrators to believe that a pro-woman image would be an asset to their school, and encouraged them to change their recruitment and admissions policies.

The effects of pressure from the federal government were probably more specific but more powerful. It is unlikely that a new ideology, by itself, would cause the male power structure to adopt policies that took resources away from men and gave them to women. Without the federal government's threat to take resources away from universities and corporations if they discriminated against women, the power structure would have had no material incentive to increase the participation of women in business. In addition, federal laws and court decisions that supported any aspect of the new ideology probably legitimized that ideology and defined it as serious and worthy of attention.

Beginning around 1970, corporations were directly pressured by the government to hire more women, and this undoubtedly lead to a growing demand for female M.B.A.'s. Government pressure concerning the admission of women to business schools was less direct, since there were no relevant federal laws or regulations until 1972. However, federal actions concerning women on the faculty probably created an expectation of future action on graduate education. Moreover, there was considerable confusion about

the precise implications of the new federal laws and regulations, and many members of the university were probably unaware that there were no federal policies about women graduate students.

Finally, some particular characteristics of Westcliffe probably contributed to the rapid increase of women in the M.B.A. program. The President, Provost and Dean of the Business School at Westcliffe accepted part of the new feminist ideology and local feminists prodded them to accept more of it. In addition, the style of the top administrators at Westcliffe is to be ahead of the times and take the initiative on a new problem before they are pushed to act by outside forces. Finally, within the Business School, the administration's commitment to maintain the school's reputation as one of the leaders in the field, encouraged them to take a "vanguard" position on women in business. And once the administration was committed to a pro-woman position, the centralized power structure of the Business School made it easy to quickly adopt new policies in recruitment and admissions. The multi-media presentation of the three women students was a convenient vehicle to accomplish the goals of the administration; without it, the change may have been slower.

In sum, my account of change includes both ideological and political factors. I believe that national changes have been more important than local events, but studies of other universities will be necessary to clarify the relative impact of national and local changes on the increase in advanced degrees for women.

Members Accounts of Change

The accounts of change given by administrators, faculty and students at the Business School also draw on a combination of factors, however, their accounts differ from mine in two major ways. First, they emphasize local events at their school more than national events. Second, they tend to ignore the impact of the local formal power structure and are vague about how the federal power structure affects their school.

Members accounts focused on a series of local events aimed at changing people's consciousness or ideology: the activities of the three women who produced the multi-media presentation. Members downplayed the administration's new recruitment policies and ignored or denied changes in admissions policies.* Thus, the ad hoc, consciousness raising actions of individuals were seen as more important than the policies of the school's formal power structure. Two faculty members, the Dean and one administrator deviated from this pattern and emphasized the importance of the school's administration.

On the national as well as the local level, members tend to underplay the importance of political as opposed to ideological factors. Although many members mentioned federal policies, the importance of federal action

*Several administrators argued that because admissions standards were not changed for women, the quality of the women students was very high and contributed to the acceptance of women by male faculty and students. This argument ignores the possibility that admissions standards were changed from discriminating against women to treating both sexes more equally.

was somewhat clouded by the inconsistent explanations of how federal policies affected women students at Westcliffe. Only the Dean discussed the demand for women M.B.A.'s as the link between federal pressure and women in the M.B.A. program. Most members mentioned the threat of lawsuits as the link. For example, when an Associate Dean was asked to explain the increase in women at Westcliffe, he said "if you want my opinion, what made it happen is changes in the law. Attitudes may or may not change afterwards." Although no suits were filed against the Business School, he stated that they weren't necessary, fear of lawsuits is enough to instigate change. On the other hand, another administrator pointed out that the school could not be sued during the critical period of change, because there were no laws relevant to women M.B.A. students. In sum, there was no consensus on how federal policies affected Westcliffe.

The accounts of male administrators and female students are similar in their emphasis on the activities of the three women, their tendency to ignore the policies of the school's administration, and their confusion over the link between government actions and the school.* The major differences in the accounts of these two groups concern their interpretation of ideological change. For most administrators, the main effect of the new sex role ideology was to change the motivations or aspirations of women so

*All administrators at the Business School are male, except for one woman who was appointed two years ago and therefore had little to say about changes during the critical period. Male students have not yet been interviewed. Faculty accounts do not fit into a clear pattern.

that more women applied to the M.B.A. program. They also mentioned changes in the motivations and perceptions of corporate employers. On the other hand, for women students, ideological changes within administrators and other men were just as important as changes within women.

In sum, the male administrators' accounts of change emphasize factors that are beyond their control. They are quite proud about how quickly and smoothly Westcliffe has changed and they take credit for their positive attitude towards women. But they do not argue that their ideology or their policy decisions were an important cause of the increase in female M.B.A.'s, perhaps because that argument would imply that they were responsible for the absence of women in the past (and the tiny number of women faculty and administrators in the present).

It is interesting (and depressing) that the women students do not challenge this interpretation, except that they stress ideological changes within men as well as women. Perhaps the students like to explain the changes at Westcliffe in terms of the multi-media presentation because this explanation implies that women students can be effective and can change things. Perhaps the students ignore administration policies both because students in general are unaware of how universities operate, and women students in particular seem to avoid political or Machiavellian interpretations of events. In any case, the consensual account of how Westcliffe changed enables administrators, faculty and students to congratulate themselves on a job well done, but provides little leverage for further change.

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